

Count Giovanni Pullè: A Legacy of Italian Immigration in Australian History¹

by Catherine Dewhirst

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Italian migration to Australia during the late nineteenth century brought men of great distinction, vision and talent, with a particular energy and inspiration inclined towards the formation of the Australian nation.² However, one man, whose name and contribution seems to remain lost in Italian-Australian history, is that of count Giovanni Pullè.³



Count Giovanni Pullè

Count Giovanni Pullè's life reflected that of a man who would be termed an ethnic 'elite'⁴ today. He was in close contact with the Italian community and general community issues, and an immigrant who, like many others of his time, took pride in contributing to the development of Australia.⁵ His belief in the prosperous future of the Australian nation went hand in hand with

his devotion to his Italian heritage. This is apparent through the many ventures he managed and financed, the risks he took and what we have left of his 'voice' through his editorial work and his descendants' memories. His unshakable, bi-cultural approach to work, community and family life may also be interpreted as being influenced by his own particular family heritage.

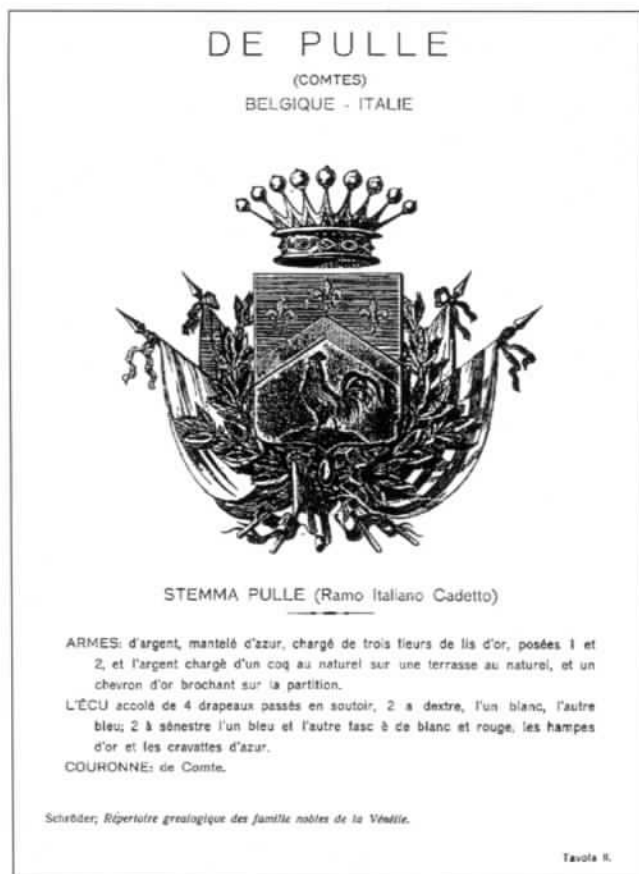
The Pullè Family Ancestry

Rudolph Bell⁶ has suggested that the continuity of the family is historically a critical theme for Italian families and that survival of the family was assured by continuance of the family name, generation after generation. Count Giovanni Pullè's emigration from Modena to Brisbane in 1876 was no exception in his family's recorded history. The Pullè family tree⁷ not only reveals that count Giovanni Pullè was born into a family of centuries-old distinction with a history of migration, but that he personally bore the particular tradition of the Pullè's ancestral achievements through his name, 'Giovanni': 'in the successive appearance of [Pullè's], the name Giacomo and those of Giovanni, Felice and Lorenzo, are frequently repeated from grandfather to grandson, showing the line of descent and uniqueness of the Pullè family in Belgium'.⁸

The Pullè family tree provides an elaborate collection of memories of the Pullè's in documents and chronicles in the Low Lands region [Belgium] from 1210 to 1600. The Pullè's owned castles and held jurisdiction during this period, and today there are two villages, situated in the Santhoven district, named after the Pullè's and dating back to the remotest period of antiquity. The year 1280 features a 'Giovanni Pullè' as proctor to Handcourt College in Paris, where he commemorated the foundation of the college, and it is from this Pullè ancestor that the tradition

of repeated names from grandfather to grandson seems first to occur.

The Pullè family's noble status is mirrored from the family crest. The rooster is a 'bird of battle' and a 'symbol of soldierly courage and religious aspirations'.⁹ The Pullè motto states: 'Pol en vaillance est lion' – the courageous cock is as fierce as the lion. Where the symbol of the lion is representative of England, the rooster is traceable back to the Gauls.¹⁰ In medieval times, two Pullè brothers were noted in a letter from St Joan of Arc for their valiant efforts in defending France from invasions during the Loire battle of 1429. This appears to have resulted in the cloaking of the Pullè family crest by King Charles of France with the colour of dark blue and the three golden lilies. The crest is topped with the crown of the count.



Pullè Family Crest

In 1567, during the Spanish wars and the Inquisition under Philip II of Spain, Andrea Poullè¹¹, Magistrate of Valenciennes, was beheaded – an act generally reserved only for nobility¹² – for his Calvinist beliefs. Andrea's sons, Giovanni and Nicola fled to Verona in 1580, bringing with them silk worms and mulberry trees and becoming successful entrepreneurs:

they were noted amongst the Veronese patrians. It was sometime after their immigration that the family converted to Catholicism. This 'Giovanni Pullè' was given the title of count 'with rights of descent' in 1660 by Carlo II, Duke of Mantua; the noble title was again confirmed in 1787 by the superintendents of the City of Verona and the Doge Alvise Mocenigo II; and again in 1821 by the Sovereign Resolution in the Lombardo-Veneto Kingdom. The Pullè family's involvement with the court of the Dukes of Modena in the 1700s and 1800s is marked by their participation in various roles as pages, cadets, guards of honour and captains serving under Francesco III, Ercole III, Francesco IV and Francesco V, and including Carlo Augusto Pullè – father of count Giovanni Pullè.

Count Giovanni Pullè

Count Giovanni Battista Attanasio Pullè was born in Modena in 1854 and left Italy, at the age of 22, during a revolutionary period in Italy's modern history. He had grown up during the tumultuous years of the Risorgimento, the Austro-Prussian-Italian war, the Franco-Prussian war, debate on Church and State, the Paris Commune, and enormous political, economic and social upheaval. The effects of these events would have surrounded him in his family life. He inherited the 'Pullè family identity' – an identity fuelled by the family's distinguished past¹³ – and was a contributor to its future interpretation in Australia over a century later among his descendants.

Poverty and high unemployment were the major factors contributing to consistent waves of emigration from Modena and the surrounding region in the late 1800s and early 1900s.¹⁴ However, Modena was also a city renowned for its political volatility during the Risorgimento and was influenced by the socialist and anarchist movements of the 1860s and 1870s¹⁵. Many fled as political refugees¹⁶. About 285 Modenese are recorded as having emigrated between 1876 and 1878.¹⁷

From the Australian colonial perspective, from about 1873, John Glyn, the then emigration agent appointed for Italy, advertised the benefits of emigration to New Zealand and Queensland.¹⁸ Emigration was also encouraged in Italy by both the Melbourne Italian Consulate and a 'long term Italian resident of Queensland'.¹⁹ Bishop Quinn's vision for Queensland's progress also made an impact on the lives of certain Italian

men who migrated to Australia during this period.²⁰ Quinn's evident 'love for things Italian' and his inclusion of tolerance and cultural pluralism as a part of his outlook for his role in Brisbane²¹ manifested in his inviting notable Italians to Queensland in the early 1870s. In 1876, William Kirchner resumed his role as the official emigration agent for Queensland on the European continent and supervised the dispatch of two German ships, the *Reichstag* and the *Lammerschlagen* from Hamburg to Australia, also in that year.²²

Count Giovanni Pullè was one of the many emigrants selectively recruited by Queensland's emigration agent for Germany and Southern Europe.²³ Among 28 compatriots and 213 other passengers, he sailed a 115 day journey on the *Reichstag* from Hamburg on 13 June 1876 and arrived in Brisbane on 6 October 1876.²⁴ At this time there were somewhere between 88 (1871) and 250 (1881) Italians in Queensland.²⁵

Colonial Queensland

It is important to note the somewhat resistant attitude of the British-Australian colonial officials towards Continental European immigration during this period. The preference tended to be reserved for British migration. For instance, Yvonne McLay states that in the 1860s Bishop Quinn had hoped to secure the inclusion of Italy in his Queensland Immigration Society because, up until then, 'the hostility of the government had precluded much encouragement of Italian migrants'.²⁶ There had also been a lull in foreign emigration to Queensland after 1874 in spite of an arrangement for a remaining 1,625 adult emigrants made between the then Agent General, Mr Daintree, and the German shipping company of Mr Sloman, as pointed out by Mr Kirchner in a letter on 13 April 1876 to the Colonial Secretary.²⁷ On 15 September 1876, the Agent General, Mr Macalister, wrote to the Colonial Secretary about the matter of resuming migration from Europe, stating that:

... if the Government of Queensland are prepared to do so, a very large number of persons and families consisting of French, Germans, Danes and others may be obtained. I cannot see, however, that I should be certified in extending Emigration of a continental character beyond that which for many years has had existed [in] the sending out of approved German Emigrants... I would, however, express an opinion that in no case should

Continental Emigrants be placed in a better position than those forwarded from Great Britain and Ireland.²⁸

The main concern with Italian migrants seems to have been the capacity for them to find work, a difficulty not presumed likely for British emigrants, as clearly stated in the 1874 Annual Report of the Agent General for Emigration to Queensland.²⁹ However, one area where much growth was needed was the Survey Office of the Queensland Lands Department. As Mary Woolcock remarks: 'Queenslanders were primarily concerned with material progress. The land waited to be explored and exploited'.³⁰ Before Queensland came into its own as a separate colony, the Survey Department of New South Wales had been responsible for the effective development of the Crown Lands right along the east coast. In a letter to Sir John S. Pakington, Duke of Newcastle in London, the New South Wales Governor General, Sir Charles Fitzroy, describes the 'insurmountable difficulties' and the need for men to assist in the field operation of the colony's Survey Department.³¹ He goes on to suggest that:

the Land and Emigration Commissioners should be requested to send out such numbers of young unmarried men as will supply the deficiency, and that these men should come out under an engagement to survive in the Survey Department for a period of not less than two years after their arrival in the colony.³²

In all, thirty men were requested, but only twenty-three responded to the Colonial Land and Emigration Office advertisements in Britain several months later. In an enclosure with the Duke's dispatch, Britain's Land and Emigration Commissioners, Messrs Murdoch and Wood, indicated that the numbers required for the colony were low 'owing partly to the improved rates of wages in this country, and partly to their expectation that they would obtain in Australia better remuneration than that which has been offered them for the present service'.³³ It is likely, then, that this predicament may have instigated action in seeking strong and skilled labour further abroad than Britain in the ensuing years.

Taking over from the explorers, the surveyors and staff of the Survey Office in Queensland had a multitude of functions.³⁴ 'Pressure of settlement in the 1860s and 1870s had involved the

Lands Department in a heavy program of surveying new land, arranging for the sale of Crown lands, particularly in the towns and cities, and managing all the business connected with selections'.³⁵ Inherent in the successful progress of Queensland's free settlement was the sale of Crown Lands, in which the talents of Lithographic Draftsmen were instrumental.

Pullè and Queensland's Survey Office

Count Giovanni Pullè commenced work as a Lithographic Draftsman for the Survey Office of the Queensland Lands Department on the 1 January 1877, two months after his arrival in Brisbane. His employment lasted for a period of five years and nine months before his resignation on the 1 October 1882. His initial annual salary was £100, but this increased to £150 after his application for a salary rise eleven months later. While Pullè's commitment and expertise in this

line of work were no doubt unquestionable³⁶, and although his annual salary was healthy, he was to be confronted with resistance to his acceptance as an 'equal'. His letter of the 27 February 1882 to the Acting Surveyor General, William Alcock Tully, in which he requested a review of his proposal for a salary increase, indicates an injustice occurring at his expense:

... what I more feelingly and regretfully observed, it was to see my name on the Staff List gradually [sic] sink to the bottom, and several Gentlemen that came after me, appointed above me, and two junior officers actually passed over my head. Not that I in any way wish to depreciate their claims, but that I consider mine to be equal.³⁷

Regarding Pullè's salary, Queensland's Blue Books detail the oversight that Pullè had both encountered and requested to be reviewed, through a line of staff members from 1878 to 1882:

SALARIES PER ANNUM

Staff Member	1878	1879	1880	1881	1882
A. Westbrook Ham	£125	£150	£150	£175	£200
J. William Brown	£125	£150	£150	£175	£200
Arnold Vivian Thomas	£150	£150	£150	£150	£175
G. Pullè	£150	£150	£150	£150	£150
William Munro	–	–	–	–	£150
Charles F. Parkinson	–	–	–	–	£150
James R.L. Zillman	–	–	–	–	£175

Table 1: Queensland Blue Books 1878-1882: Queensland State Archives

The above table shows that Pullè's salary had not been revised between 1878 and 1882, unlike those of his colleagues. Indeed, while no mention of racial discord is made in this correspondence between him and Mr Tully, no other reasons were given to sufficiently meet any appreciation of the situation, therefore urging Pullè to submit his resignation in 1882 'to enable me [Giovanni Pullè] to better my position otherwise'.³⁸

It is important to bear in mind that count Giovanni Pullè was a man who saw himself as a British Subject, having sworn his allegiance on the 1 July 1878, and having married a local born woman of Irish/Scottish heritage, Eliza Sarah McFarlane, on 19 November 1879, fathering two daughters by the time of his resignation from the

Survey Office. In fact, his second application for promotion in February 1882, came at a time when his wife was pregnant with their second child. This letter reveals his concern as being the sole income earner of the family, by his stating: 'I may not have the right to state that I have a family to support'.³⁹ It would appear that he saw no difference in himself, his skills and his loyalty to the Survey Office of the Lands Department, as to those of his colleagues.

While Pullè was already a member of the *Società dei Naturalisti* before arriving in Queensland – thus suggesting he had at least begun the study of surveying in Italy – the non-recognition he received for promotion may in part be due to the changes in surveyor regulations.⁴⁰ The history of

the procurement of surveyors through immigration and their conditions of employment being required for at least two years, may have also contributed to the lack of support for Pullè's promotion. However, Pullè may have not hidden the fact that he was interested in his fellow Italians. Not long after arriving, and during his employment with the Survey Office, he took an active role in the improvement of conditions for Italian emigrants – a theme to be reflected throughout his life – as the treasurer for the *Società di Patronato e Mutuo Soccorso tra gli Italiani nel Queensland*.⁴¹

Pullè's Entrepreneurial Pursuits

After resigning from the Survey Office, count Giovanni Pullè then did what many Italian immigrants did as soon as possible after arrival due to this 'blocked mobility'⁴²: he moved into small business, launching his new career by a return to Modena in 1883 to invite investment in an import-export proposal.⁴³ This move is a recognised phenomenon of Italian migrants during this period of history. For example, in Canada between 1885 and 1915, many Italian migrants were regarded as 'ethnic entrepreneurs'⁴⁴; and in Argentina, from about 1898 to 1911, they were seen as the 'self-made men'.⁴⁵ They were successful because they 'formed part of the elite of the colony by virtue of the trust they commanded from the grass roots, and of the intermediary role they played between the immigrants and the goods and services they purveyed'⁴⁶. In Australia, many Italian migrants also reacted to what some studies have found to have been an environment 'characterised by friction and distrust'⁴⁷. As Jock Collins suggests: 'Italians move into small business because of discrimination, downward social mobility or unacceptable experiences in the Australian labour market as wage labourers'⁴⁸.

In 1885 count Giovanni Pullè established an Italian-Australian commercial company, G. Pullè & Co, managing the importation of Italian commodities, such as small goods and furniture, and the exportation of wool, tallow and hides⁴⁹. In 1887 he branched out as a coffee shop proprietor of the Coffee Palace Restaurant in Brisbane city⁵⁰. Two years later he moved into the new industry of wine and brandy distilling with the opening of the Fairfield Wine and Distillery Co. for a period of seven years, having gained a special amendment bill to the Distilleries Act of 1849 to allow more flexibility in licensing⁵¹. He

also specialised in rope manufacturing in 1892.⁵² In 1896, count Giovanni Pullè became the manager of both the Southern Queensland Meat Exports Co. Ltd. in Bulimba and of the Acme Meat Preserving Company in South Brisbane until the turn of the century, when he moved his family and his company (producing tinned fruit and meat preserves⁵³) to Sydney. Five years later, Pullè changed the name of his company to the Excelsior Macaroni Company, specialising in spaghetti-making, as a family business⁵⁴. The company was managed by his children after his death on 4 November 1920, eventually closing in the 1950s when still under the management of his youngest son, count Guido Pullè. Count Guido Pullè managed the factory towards the end under the name of Roma Spaghetti.



Excelsior Macaroni Company

In Sydney, count Giovanni Pullè continued his interest in the affairs of Italian immigrants⁵⁵. He and Dr Quinto Ercole (an Italian doctor and socialist from Teramo) established Australia's first bi-lingual Italian newspaper, *L'Italo-Australiano* (1905-1909)⁵⁶, as co-editors. The purpose of the newspaper was to promote the 'furtherance of friendly commercial reunions to the Commonwealth of Australia and the kingdom of Italy'⁵⁷, but Pullè and Ercole also reported widely on issues of immigration. For example, one of the ventures they researched and campaigned for was the establishment of an Italian agricultural immigration project to assist in the development of Australia's resources and population increase⁵⁸. Four years after the folding of *L'Italo-Australiano*, Pullè set up *Oceania* (1913-1915), along with his son-in-law, Antonio Folli, and with A.P. Rinoldi⁵⁹. The aim of this second bi-lingual Italian newspaper was both educational and a



Periodico Settimanale degli Italiani residenti in Australasia. Premiato con Medaglia d'Argento all'Esposizione di Milano 1906.

Price 1d.

Published at the Office of the Editor, Sydney, New South Wales, by F. DE LUCA.

Prezzo per Numero, 10 cent.

Henderson's Honey Kisses advertisement with logo and text.

Keneally Santoria advertisement with logo and text.

Compagnie National d'Escompte DE PARIS advertisement.

Loggia Conservato e Provato advertisement.

RIVISTE E GIORNALI. La pianta pallone. La donna nell'esplosione. La colonizzazione in Siberia.

N. D. L. Valigia Imperiale a Vapore advertisement.

Henderson's Cough Drops advertisement.

STIMSON & FIRTH advertisement.

marketing tool for the Italian community, to promote good will and understanding between Italy and Australia, Australians and Italians: 'Anglo-Saxons - Australians included... between two peoples which have in common so many ideals'.

Research on the Pullè Family Today Martine Segalen makes the point that 'family' is bound by cultural perceptions, meaning different concepts to different people, and at different periods throughout history.

rituals, mythologised through stories and reinforced during times of crisis. Family became a refuge, a sanctuary against the evils of the world: on the one hand, it provided shelter and protection during the experience of isolation and strangeness; on the other, it also demonstrated flexibility to transform itself, negotiating identity in the migration process.

Recent interviews with members of the Benvenuti, Maccheroni, Papi, Tenni and Quanchi families have shown the importance of traces of family history and identity through stories, newspaper cuttings on the family, family photographs, genealogies and other objects from each family's origins.

The extensive family history of the Pullès, dating back to the 1200s, provides an initial point of ref-

erence relevant to this family's self perception and identity, as well as the symbolic scope that is present among the descendants of count Giovanni Pullè in Australia today. Many of the memories of Pullè's Gordon Street home at Brighton-le-Sands, where he and his family lived and ran the Excelsior Macaroni Company, are still clear for both third and fourth generation descendants. They frequently visited Pullè's children (their aunts and uncles) during their own years growing up, from the 1920s to the 1950s. There were also voyages back to the family in Italy by some second and third generations. (This continued to be a practice by some fourth and fifth generations). The way of life that was

embraced during count Giovanni Pullè's lifetime also appears to have been reflected decades later in the lives of his grandchildren, and their children and grandchildren, whom he knew only too briefly or never met at all. Although of mixed ancestry today, many Pullè descendants feel more of an 'Italian' heritage than anything else. An inquiry into the perceptions of 'Italianness' and the family identity, as transmitted through the stories, memories and relationships of Pullè's descendants, as a possible legacy of his life, identity, influence and family history, today provides us with new insights into Australia's migration history and Italo relations⁶⁸.

Son/Daughter	Date Of Birth	Place of Birth
Ethel Virginia Maria	12 May 1881	Goodna, Qld
Margarita	1 August 1882	Bellavista Terrace, Toowonga, Qld
Leopoldo Charles Albert	27 December 1884	Florence Cottage, Breakfast Creek, Qld
Ivy Muriel Augusta	12 January 1887	Kent Street, The Valley, Qld
Irene Antoinetta	29 April 1889	Victoria Street, Fairfield (Distillery) Qld
Mario Livingstone Clemente	1 July 1891	Victoria Street, Fairfield (Distillery) Qld
Guido Giovanni Battista	19 June 1895	Brisbane, Qld

Table 2: By 1895 Giovanni and Sarah Pullè had had seven children.

Notes

¹ I am thankful for the generous assistance of Professor Cameron Hazlehurst in preparing this article. I am also grateful to Yvonne Pullè, Yolanda Pullè-Sampson, Italia (Pullè) Dewhurst and John Charker Pullè for background information and oral history on the Pullès.

² See Cecilia, T. (1987), *We Didn't Arrive Yesterday*, Furey, M. (trans), Scalabriani, Red Cliff: The Sunnyland Press, (2nd edn); Cresciani, G. (1985), *The Italians*, ABC; Marletta, C. (1994), *Pionieri Italiani: Presenza Italiana nel Queensland nell'800*, Brisbane: Eureka Publications; Pascoe, R. (1987), *Buongiorno Australia: Our Italian Heritage*, Melbourne: Greenhouse Publications.

³ Pullè is mentioned for his editorial work on *L'Italo Australiano and Oceania* by Bosi, P. (1985), 'La Stampa Italo-Australiano', *Australia ieri, oggi, domani, Annuario*, Vol.1, pp.277-292; Cecilia op. cit.; Gilson, M. and Zubrzycki, J. (1967), *The Foreign-Language Press in Australia 1848-1964*, Canberra: Australian National University Press; Cecilia op.cit. has noted him for his work in the food industry.

⁴ Jupp, J. (1989), 'The Ethnic Composition of Australian Elites', in Jupp, J. (ed), *The Challenge of Diversity*, Canberra: Australian Government Publishing Services Press, pp.33-43

⁵ Birrell, R. (1995), *A Nation of Our Own*, Melbourne: Longman, pp.84-85; Price, C. (1991), 'Environment, Aborigines, Nationalism, Ethnic Origins and Intermixture', in Price, C.A. (ed), *Australian National*

Identity, Canberra: ANU Printing Service for the Academy of Social Sciences in Australia, p.4

⁶ Bell, R. (1979), *Fate and Honor, Family and Village*, Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, pp.67-68

⁷ The history of the Pullè family in Europe is contained in the Italian Pullè family tree, which was compiled by count Giovanni Pullè's youngest brother count Felice Pullè: Pullè, count Felice (1931), *Pullè (1210-1931)*, Riccione: Topografia Moderna. It was a gift from count Felice Pullè to Yolanda Pullè Sampson when she visited Italy with her husband after World War II. Yolanda is count Giovanni Pullè's granddaughter. This publication draws on a number of diverse investigations and historical documents, including two genealogies of the Pullè family: Carinelli, Carlo, Can.co Veronese, (1854), *La Verità ecc.*, Verona: Biblioteca Com. di Verona; as well as Eleanora Selmi di Bologna's work with the *Annuario della Nobiltà Italiana 1879* (1978), Pisa: Edizione S. Maccario and the *Calendario d'Oro* (1899), Pubblicazioni dell'Istituto Araldico Italiano, Anno XI. Generally the pursuit of genealogies amongst the nobility in Europe was seen as an ancient tradition (see Dewald, J. (1996), *The European Nobility, 1400-1800*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.21). Chronicles of families were often made by subscription, being sold to family members, keeping both the genealogists employed and the families entertained. Availability of documentation provides a greater amount of research of noble families. The Pullè family is one of the families listed as included in the Litta series on the Italian nobility (see Litta, P.

- (1876), *Famiglie Celebri Italiane*, Vol.11, Presso Paolo Emilio Giusti, Stampatore, Librajo e Fonditore). However, there is no section devoted to the Pullè family in volume 11 or any of the previous volumes. It can only be assumed that the Pullès were in the process of having their genealogy submitted.
- ⁸ Pullè op.cit., p.13 (my translation)
- ⁹ Cadogan Rothery, G. ([1915] 1995), *Concise Encyclopedia of Heraldry*, London: Senate, p.54.
- ¹⁰ Ibid.: pp.35 and 54.
- ¹¹ Derivation of the Pullè name had occurred in many instances since 1210.
- ¹² Dewald op.cit., p.29
- ¹³ Pullè's father had led a distinguished military career, commencing with the army of Francesco IV and later in the Great Italian Army, as a major, as well as in many regional battles for independence. On his retirement, he founded two societies for the assistance of war veterans and released prisoners. Pullè's two elder brothers (Guilo and Francesco) joined the Garibaldini and went on to take up senior roles in civic and intellectual life.
- ¹⁴ Azzi, G. (1970), *Modena 1859-1898*, Modena: S.T.E.M. Mucchi, p.99; Muzzioli, G. (1993), *Storia delle Città Italiane*, Roma-Bari: Editori Laterza, p.126
- ¹⁵ Azzi op.cit.
- ¹⁶ Clark, M. (1986), *Modern Italy: 1871-1982*, London: Longman, (2nd edn), p.75
- ¹⁷ Muzzioli op.cit., p.130
- ¹⁸ Cecilia op.cit., pp.59-60
- ¹⁹ Ibid.
- ²⁰ Bishop Quinn was the instrumental force behind the migrations of the Antonio Benvenuti and his family, Ferdinando Papi and several other famous Italians, as indicated in the publication, *Presenza Italiana nel Queensland nell'800*.
- ²¹ McLay, Y.M. (1979), *James Quinn: First Catholic Bishop of Brisbane*, Armadale, Vic.: National Library of Australia, pp.115, 121, 158-160.
- ²² Queensland State Archives (QSA): COL/79A (1876): 1248 and 1443.
- ²³ Careful selection was one of the official criteria in the dispatching of German ships in 1876; QSA: COL/79A (1876): 997.
- ²⁴ QSA: COL/79A (1876): 2008.
- ²⁵ Borrie, W.D. (1954), *Italians and Germans in Australia*, Melbourne: Angus and Robertson, p.51. Also Charles Price records that between 1880 and 1940 in Australia there were 55 Italian male settlers from the region of Emilia Romagna, in a total of 19,530 settlers: see Price, C. (1963), *Southern Europeans in Australia*, Melbourne: Oxford University Press, p.18.
- ²⁶ McLay op.cit.: 161.
- ²⁷ This is made clear by Mr Kirchner, the former 'Emigration Agent for Queensland on the Continent of Europe', in his letter; QSA: COL/79; 48/346 (1876): 1443.
- ²⁸ QSA: COL/79A; 48/346A (1876): 2853.
- ²⁹ QSA: COL/78A; 48/345A (1876): 2300.
- ³⁰ Woolcock, H. (1986), *Rights of Passage: Emigration to Australia in the Nineteenth Century*, London and New York: Tavistock, p.xiv.
- ³¹ John Oxley Library Archives (JOLA), Her Majesty's Stationery Office (HMSO) (1854), *Further Papers Relative to Crown Lands in the Australian Colonies*, Despatch Letters, 5 April 1853, No.55, p.7.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ JOLA, HMSO (1854), *Further Papers Relative to Crown Lands in the Australian Colonies*, Despatch Letters, 29 December 1853, No.152, p.20.
- ³⁴ Reilly, S.E. (1970), *The Profession of Surveying in Queensland*, Queensland Division: Institution of Surveyors, p.14.
- ³⁵ QSA (1981), *Guide to the Records of the Crown Lands Office 1842-1875 and the Crown Lands Commissioners' Offices 1842-ca. 1900*, p.5
- ³⁶ Letters written by count Giovanni Pullè to the Surveyor General for a second promotion in 1882, indicate that he had been led to believe that his service to the Survey Office had always met with the approval of his superiors and of the department. When Pullè initially wrote to the Surveyor General requesting a raise in salary and an enquiry into the matter of his being overlooked for promotion, the response noted on his letter as 'When I have the opportunity I shall recognise Mr Pullè's claims' (dated 2/3/1882): see QSA: SUR/A (1882): 1316. Pullè wrote another two letters that year, in May and in August, to remind the Surveyor General of his request with no response recorded on his letters, as was usually the case in such employment matters: see QSA: SUR/A (1882): 2990 and 6032, respectively. Finally, when Pullè handed in his resignation in a letter dated 15 September 1882, the Surveyor General's response, as noted on his letter, was: 'I am sorry to lose the services of Mr Pullè and should like to see him receive a higher recompense for his services. I can do no more than I have done on his behalf' (dated 27/9/1882): see QSA: SUR/A (1882): 6822.
- ³⁷ QSA: SUR/A (1882): 1316.
- ³⁸ Ibid.
- ³⁹ QSA: SUR/A (1882): 6822.
- ⁴⁰ Ibid.
- ⁴¹ In 1876 the Surveyor General, William Alcock Tully, introduced the new rules of a two year pre-examination experience and original field book and plan. These rules replaced the previous 1868 Act of Parliament which allowed for a Licensed Surveyor to be 'any person certified as competent by the Surveyor General' under the guidelines of the Crown Lands Alienation Act's Surveyors' qualifications (see Reilly op.cit., pp.111-112).
- ⁴² Pullè attended a meeting at the School of Arts hotel in Brisbane on 27 July 1877, along with 36 other Italian 'nationals' to establish the society for the protection and assistance of Italian immigrants (*The Queenslander*, 4 August 1877, p.7). Research by historian Dr Don Dignan shows that the purpose of this society was 'to aid all desiring persons of Italian nationality by giving advice, procuring occupation, making loans or giving monetary assistance (unpublished work by Dr Dignan). Dr Dignan states that the society met once a month and lasted just less than four years. In addition, according to Dr Dignan's research, Pullè also founded a 'short-lived Italian fraternal society', the 'Lega Stella d'Italians' (unpublished work by Dr Dignan).
- ⁴³ Collins, J. (1992), 'Cappuccino capitalism: Italian immigrations and Australian businesses', in Castles, S. et al. (eds), *Australia's Italians*, North Sydney: Allen and Unwin, p.84; cf Borrie op.cit., pp.62-63.
- ⁴⁴ Pullè published a booklet entitled *L'Australia: Cenni Storico Statistico*, Modena, Moneti e Namias 1883. This booklet is held by certain members of the family as well as the Ministero per i Beni Culturali e Ambientali, Biblioteca Universitaria Bologna (A.III.Caps.CXLII.43).
- ⁴⁵ Zucchi, J. (1988), *Italians in Toronto*, Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, p.101.
- ⁴⁶ Scarzanella, E. (1983), 'L'Industria Argentina e gli

Immigrati Italiani' in Bezza, B. (ed), *Gli Italiani Fuori d'Italia*, Roma-Bari: Fanco Angeli Editore, p.590

⁴⁶ Zucchi op.cit.

⁴⁷ Collins op.cit., p.74.

⁴⁸ *ibid*, p.84.

⁴⁹ See the Queensland Post Office Directory (QPOD) 1885-1886, p.275, and the advertisements in this directory.

⁵⁰ See the QPOD 1886-1887, p.267.

⁵¹ On the company, see the QPOD 1889, p.526. On the special act of parliament, see the *Gazette*, 27 October 1887, pp.1272-1273, 28 October, p.1297, and 1 November 1887, p.1325, documenting the parliamentary debate on this issue, as well as *The Queenslander*, 15 October 1887, p. 631, and 4 February 1888, p. 191.

⁵² See the QPOD 1892-1893, p.645.

⁵³ Cecilia op. cit., p. 132.

⁵⁴ During the late 1800s we can speculate that count Giovanni Pullè's move into the food industry may have been influenced by his father-in-law, Daniel MacFarlane, who was a butcher in Goodna, and his friend Giovacomo Maccheroni who established a spaghetti factory at Indooroopilly in about 1884 – see Marletta op. cit.; Dr Dignan has also confirmed that Maccheroni subscribed to Pullè's *L'Italo Australiano* and was also a foundation member of Pullè's *Lega Stella d'Italia*, so were probably friends (unpublished work by Don Dignan).

⁵⁵ In approximately 1909, for example, Pullè was also a delegate among other notable Italians, including Dr Marano, the Consul in Sydney, and Dr Fiaschi, in welcoming the Melbourne Consul-General, Commendatore Mercatelli, to Sydney. This is made apparent in an article attached to a marketing report from the Sydney Consul to the Ministero Affari Esteri in Genoa, dated 29 November 1909; see Italian Historical Society Consular Archives, Melbourne.

⁵⁶ No doubt Pullè and Ercole had been influenced by the preceding attempts of fervent Italians to connect the Italian community through the media – in particular, the original *L'Italo-Australiano*, edited by Francesco Sceusa in 1885, but also *Uniamoci*, by Giuseppe Prampolini in 1903.

⁵⁷ *L'Italo Australiano* 11 March 1905.

⁵⁸ *L'italo Australiano* 5 August 1905.

⁵⁹ It would appear from photographs in both papers that count Giovanni Pullè was the chief editor. See *L'Italo Australiano* 21 December 1907 and *Oceania* 15 August 1914.

⁶⁰ *Oceania* 12 July 1913.

⁶¹ Yvonne Pullè (great granddaughter of count Giovanni Pullè) has stated that one of the main aims of *Oceania* was: 'to oppose the Bill before the W.A. Parliament, pushed by those unions seeking to exclude foreign labour' (unpublished dissertation by Yvonne Pullè).

⁶² Segalen, M. (1996), *Historical Anthropology of the Family*, Whitehouse, J.C. and Mathews, S. (trans), Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, p.412

⁶³ Bell op.cit., p.191

⁶⁴ *ibid*, p.193

⁶⁵ *ibid*, p.197

⁶⁶ I am grateful for the information, oral histories and memories expressed in my interviews with Gilda Benvenuti, Kate Maccheroni Collins, Adrian and Susan Papi, Greg Tenni and Dr Max Quanchi. Their ancestors and years of arrival are as follows: Antonio Benvenuti (1820-1896) arrived in Queensland in 1871 with his wife, Catherine Barnet and three sons, Luigi, Victor and Italo; Giovacchino Maccheroni (1855-1929) arrived in Queensland in 1877; Ferdinando Papi (1851-1923) arrived

in Queensland in 1871; Giacomo Tenni (1840-1932) arrived in Queensland in 1889 with his son Martin; and Alessandro Quanchi (1841-1905) arrived in Victoria in 1855 with family members Lorenzo and Abbondio.

⁶⁷ Antonio Benvenuti and his sons, count Ferdinando Papi, Giovacchino Maccheroni, Giacomo Tenni and Alessandro Quanchi.

⁶⁸ Margaret Ryan's compilation of the genealogy of and other documentation on the Pullès and their descendants in Australia is of particular assistance in arranging my field-work. Margaret Ryan is married to Boyd Ryan, count Giovanni Pullè's grandson. Her compilation is available in the Mitchell Library in Sydney: see Andrighetti, J. (1995), *Italians in New South Wales: A Guide to the Mitchell Library*, Sydney: State Library of New South Wales.